1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1



000 BB [128] should be misleading. District data are desirable, but occupational breakdowns for these smaller political units are available neither for 1940 nor 1950. Furthermore, the areas of these districts cannot be calculated with even minimal accuracy from existing sources. Thus the distribution of rural population and agricultural labor force within municípios is largely a matter of inference. For example, the 1950 agricultural labor force was estimated, as has been seen, from the 1940 data and changes in rural population. Densities for each município were calculated from these estimates, and these densities were used as guides, in conjunction with the total populations of the various districts, in determining the distributional patterns of the map of the density of the agricultural labor force and the dot map of agricultural labor force. These maps are thus inferential distributions of inferred data.

[23]Smith, op. cit., p. 297.

BB [435] [24]Labor turnover is one of the explanations proffered for the high cost of sugar production in Bahia.

[25]The explanations offered by these migrants are various: lack of opportunity, a hostile or unfriendly landlord or creditor, a quarrel within the family or neighborhood, crop failure, or a desire to be near relatives.

[26]Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, The Development of Brazil (Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Operations Division. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 16.

BB [096] [27]However, these people muster tremendous energy for festas (holidays or feast days), especially Carnaval. At such a time, a middle-aged lady with a chronic heart condition was observed to dance, in a procession, for several miles down the road. During the novena of Nossa Senhora de Purificão in Santo Amaro, the troups of performers will journey many miles to attend the celebration, dance and sing throughout the nights of each of the nine days, and without rest return to their homes.

BB [633] [28]The people of nine urban centers of the Recôncavo--Salvador, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Cachoeira-São Félix, Santo Amaro, Maragogipe, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and São Gonçalo--are thus excluded from the rural population. These are the nine ranking cities of the Recôncavo, and all except São Gonçalo have more than 5,000 people. In addition to industry, those transportation, financial, retail, trade, and administrative functions which are not strictly local are confined to these urban centers, as well as wholesale trade and international commerce.

B [631] [633] [29]It is significant that Brazil has no urban political unit per se--the município or the distrito has both urban (city, town, or village) and rural sections without administrative expression.

B BB [665] [823] [857] [30]In this society there are many women, especially in the lower class, who can scarcely be considered as dependent. Moreover, as has been seen, children are also frequently productive members of lower class families. In the upper class of the villages and towns, however, there are many children and housewives whose activities are either purely domestic or are only indirectly productive.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Northeast Brazil SO1



## CHAPTER VII

## ANIMAL INDUSTRY

BB 231 433 Although the Recôncavo is primarily a subsistence and commercial crop region, livestock play a significant role in the agricultural BB economy as beasts of burden and as a source of animal products. In [435] 1948 there were about 800,000 to 850,000 livestock—cattle, sheep, goats, horses, asses, and mules—in the region, and the value of animal production was about Cr.$60,000,000.[1] Thus animals accounted for about 17 per cent of the total value of all agricultural products of the Recôncavo. About one quarter of the livestock were work animals essential to the operation of the agricultural economy—oxen, horses, asses, and mules.[2]

BB NB 231 233 442 443 The livestock industry of the Recôncavo is closely associated with the extensive livestock ranching economy of the Brazilian northeastern interior. In Bahia, as in most parts of Brazil, the sertão of the interior is a source region of livestock. The animals are driven from the sertão to the coastal nuclei of dense settlement and sold in the cattle market—in the Recôncavo, at the market of Feira de Santana. A portion of the cattle are slaughtered immediately to provide food for the large agricultural population, but a substantial number of cattle and the horses, asses, and mules are retained as work animals. The working cattle—oxen—are eventually slaughtered.

BB 231 Certain outlying parts of the Recôncavo share with the sertão in the role of producing livestock for the coastal market zone. Other areas, especially around Feira de Santana, function as fattening zones in which the cattle recuperate after the long drives from the interior.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



TABLE XVI

RELATIVE CROPLAND AND VALUE OF ALL CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO WITH A VALUE OF MORE THAN Cr.$1,000,000 IN 1948

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| Crop | Per cent of the Cropland of the Recôncavo | Per cent of the Value of All Principal Crops of the Recôncavo |
|---|---|---|
| Tobacco | 27 | 32 |
| Manioc | 28 | 25 |
| Sugar Cane | 15 | 20 |
| Beans | 9 | 6 |
| Oranges | 1 | 5 |
| Bananas | 1 | 3 |
| Corn | 12 | 3 |
| Coconuts | 1 | 2 |
| Coffee | 4 | 1 |
| Pineapple | <1 | <1 |
| Peanuts | <1 | <1 |
| Sweet Potatoes | <1 | <1 |

Source: Calculations and estimates based on data from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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[311]
[435]

The leading position of tobacco results in part from its extensive cultivation, and in part from its relatively high unit value. While the mean value of production of all crops in the Recôncavo was Cr.$3,400 per hectare in 1948, tobacco produced Cr.$3,900 per hectare, as given in Table XVII, which also shows the value of production per hectare of the other principal crops. The leading position of tobacco is at variance with tradition which, as has been seen, assigns the first rank to sugar cane. Not only was tobacco the most valuable crop of the Recôncavo in 1948, but it was also the leading crop in seven municípios of the tobacco-manioc region, where it accounted for a minimum of 40 per cent of the value of all crops. Within four separate municípios of the crop region, it accounted for about 60 per cent of the total value of crops (Map 120). The Southwestern Recôncavo was the chief center of the production of tobacco, as indicated by value as well as by cropland and bulk, for it produced over 63 per cent of the total value of tobacco in the Recôncavo. Within this section, Cruz das Almas was the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 347]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



TABLE XVII

MEAN VALUE OF PRODUCTION PER HECTARE FOR THE CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1948

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| Crops | Value of Production Cr.$1.000 per ha. |
|---|---|
| Principal Crops* | |
| Tobacco | 3,900 |
| Manioc | 3,100 |
| Sugar Cane | 4,600 |
| Beans | 2,200 |
| Oranges** | 13,300 |
| Bananas** | 8,600 |
| Corn | 800 |
| Coconuts** | 7,400 |
| Coffee** | 1,400 |
| Pineapple | 1,000 |
| Peanuts | 2,400 |
| Sweet Potatoes | 3,500 |
| All Crops | 3,400 |

*Crops with a value in excess of Cr.$1,000,000.
**There is little consistent relationship between the area and production of these crops, so that local values for these crops often depart widely from the mean.
Source: Calculations and estimations based upon Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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leading producer--40 per cent of the total value of the tobacco crop. Notwithstanding the dominant role of the Southwestern area, tobacco production north of the Rio Paraguaçu was also significant--contributing 24 per cent of the total value of the crop.

As has been indicated, several grades of tobacco are produced in the Recôncavo. The superiority of the tobacco production of the Southwestern Recôncavo is more than a matter of hectares of cultivation or kilograms of leaf. The area is the core of the "Mata Fina" zone, within which the leaf of Cruz das Almas is assigned the highest price. [439] The "Mata Fina" leaf is the basis of the export of cigar tobacco to European markets. In its concern with cacao, the most valuable export, [245] [439] Bahia tends to forget the important role which tobacco plays in its economy, and with this, so the people of the zone sometimes feel, to

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



TABLE XVIII

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VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION OF THE PRINCIPAL CROP REGIONS AND OTHER AREAS OF THE RECÔNCAVO—1948

| | Value of Production | |
|---|---|---|
| Sugar Cane Region (Sugar Cane & Animals) | | |
| Main Area North of Bay | | |
| Santo Amaro | Cr.$35,200.00 | |
| Western São Sebastião | 12,700.00 | |
| Western São Francisco | 4,700.00 | |
| Total | 52,600.00 | |
| Cachoeira | 1,500.00 | |
| Southern São Filipe (no animals) | 3,600.00 | |
| Total--Sugar Cane Region | | Cr.$57,700.00 |
| Tobacco-Manioc Region (All Crops & Animals) | | |
| In Southwestern Recôncavo | | |
| Conceição do Almeida | 26,400.00 | |
| Cruz das Almas | 57,700.00 | |
| Eastern Muritiba | 14,900.00 | |
| Northern São Filipe | 11,000.00 | |
| São Félix | 5,700.00 | |
| Northern Maragogipe | 3,300.00 | |
| Total | 119,000.00 | |
| In Other Sub-Regions of Recôncavo | | |
| Conceição da Feira | 4,900.00 | |
| São Gonçalo | 11,400.00 | |
| Feira de Santana | 6,100.00 | |
| Irará | 9,300.00 | |
| Coração de Maria | 4,900.00 | |
| Santo Amaro | 17,900.00 | |
| Catu | 3,600.00 | |
| Total | 58,100.00 | |
| Total--Tobacco-Manioc Region | | 177,100.00 |
| Feira de Santana Livestock Area | | 16,000.00 |
| Bay Margin and Suburban Areas | | |
| Itaparica | 6,900.00 | |
| Salvador | 8,900.00 | |
| Maragogipe | 1,000.00 | |
| Santo Amaro | 2,000.00 | |
| São Francisco | 4,200.00 | |
| Total | | 23,000.00 |
| Total | | Cr.$273,800.00 |

Source: Calculations and estimates based upon Produção Agrícola: 1948.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



241 of value and production, at least of marketed crops. The choice between
433 value or production as a base figure for correction was dependent upon
127 the individual case and the generally expected pattern of price and
128 yield.

244 Manioc. The basic shortcomings of the manioc data were clearly
433 revealed when area and production figures were combined to show yield.
127 While the mean calculated yield for the Recôncavo was 16.3 tons per
128 hectare, the mean calculated yield for individual municípios varied from 5.3 tons per hectare for Salvador to 39.0 tons per hectare for São Filipe (Map 130). Certain variations, related to precipitation, soil, and intensity and care of cultivation, are to be expected, but the yield maps revealed incredible contrasts. Especially noteworthy was the case of São Filipe, with its yield of 39 tons per hectare. Adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida, with similar and if anything more efficient practices of cultivation and with similar soils and climate--especially since most manioc in São Filipe is grown in the area adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida--produced only 14 and 10 tons per hectare, respectively. It was apparent that at least one element in the São Filipe data was in error. The other municípios with exceptionally high yields--São Francisco, with 34.5 tons per hectare, and Santo Amaro, with 25.3 tons per hectare--probably can be explained by high productivity when manioc is grown on a small and intensive scale on the more fertile clay soils.

In São Filipe the yield calculated from official data was three
[435] to four times that of the surrounding municípios. Moreover, the unit value per ton was Cr.$60, compared with Cr.$150 to Cr.$200 for adjacent areas. The conclusion that the production figure was an error was re-enforced through a comparison of the density of production in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



244 São Filipe, 230 tons per square kilometer, with the 162 tons per square
433 kilometer of Conceição do Almeida, a more notable producer.
127
128 It was assumed that the unit value in São Filipe was the mean of the prices of Maragogipe and Conceição do Almeida—São Filipe is midway between these municípios in terms of location, transport, and external market relationship—and that:

$$\text{Production} = \frac{\text{Value}}{\text{Unit Value}} = \frac{4,290,000}{\frac{170 + 190}{2}} = 27,333 \text{ tons}$$

This figure is close to 28,000 tons, and it was inferred that the original figure had been transposed to 82,000 tons. Yield was then derived:

$$\frac{28,000 \text{ tons}}{2,100 \text{ hectares}} = 13.3 \text{ tons per hectare}$$

compared with 13.9 tons per hectare for Cruz das Almas and 11.1 tons per hectare for São Félix, nearby areas with similar conditions. Perhaps this yield is slightly high, but it is in the possible range of variation, and is an acceptable approximation.

• [435] There was a second problem in Irará. The unit value of manioc here was Cr.$90 per ton, compared to Cr.$300 in nearby Coração de Maria, Cr.$240 in Feira de Santana, and Cr.$320 in Santo Amaro. Moreover, the density of production was very high, 26.45 tons per square kilometer total area, compared to 10.72 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria, especially since so much of northern Irará is not densely settled. When Cr.$200 per ton was postulated as the unit value of manioc, the production derived was 10,500 tons. Yield calculated by using this figure and the original area data would be 4.38 tons per hectare, which is unreasonably small. The yield calculated from the original data—14.6 tons per hectare—seemed approximately correct, and using these yield figures, with the derived production value of 10,500 tons, area was calculated as 719 hectares. The new area figure

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



244 gave 0.54 tons per square kilometer total area, which corresponded to
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127 0.59 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria.
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[435] In São Sebastião, the low unit value of manioc—Cr.$80 per ton—indicated possible error. The reasonable intensity of production suggested that the total value data were in error. The mean unit value of the four surrounding municípios—Cr.$240 per ton--was accepted for São Sebastião and was used to calculate a revised total value of Cr.$168,000.

Minor errors were apparent in the data for certain other municípios. For example, the yields of Maragogipe, Cachoeira, and Salvador were extremely low. Adjustments could have been made, but the relatively small manioc area and production in these municípios indicated that the resulting alterations would not markedly change the general area or production pattern. Maps 130, 131, 132, 133 and 134 show the patterns of manioc cultivation, production, and yield as taken from unmodified official data in Produção Agrícola: 1948. The corresponding maps based upon modified data (Maps 22, 23, 24, 25, and 27) are presented in Chapter V.

243 Corn. Calculations from the original data gave Maragogipe a
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127 yield of .40 tons of corn per hectare, less than one-half the yield
128 of neighboring municípios. This was excessively low, and it seemed preferable to use the figure of 1.24 tons per hectare, the mean of adjacent São Filipe and Cachoeira. These municípios, though not similar to the whole of Maragogipe, resemble very much the adjoining areas where cultivation is concentrated. The production figure for Maragogipe was accepted as reasonable, since when combined with value it produced a credible unit value. Thus the area was reduced from 15 hectares to 5 hectares, raising the yield to a more acceptable level. However, these changes do not modify the gross pattern extensively and therefore the maps in Chapter 7 were based upon the original data.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 415 ]

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423 the responsibility of holders to colonize and develop their
* 249 areas. The grants were as a rule very large, consisting of leagues of land rather than of acres. Only one grant could be made to a family. As a result the son of a man who was a holder of a grant either had to remain on his father's land or had to leave the province and go elsewhere to acquire land.
[425] The only remaining alternative was to forget about land and go into commerce or a profession. However, since the grants were so very large, the original holders were able to break them up, selling or renting parts, giving some to their married sons or daughters and yet retaining and cultivating enough to support themselves. Thus the original land grants were broken up, and several plantations were made of each.

*175 Engenho was the name given to the total plantation, as well
249 as being the specific designation for the mill itself. Every
313 plantation, regardless of whether it was inland or on the coast, needed two things: the soil known as massapé, and woods as close as possible to the mill to supply firewood for boiling the
[185] sugar-cane juice. Firewood soon became a crucial problem, one which has haunted the sugar industry for centuries. Conservation never was a Brazilian practice, and the tropical
[435] forests of the Recôncavo were soon stripped to feed the hungry mouths of the furnaces. As time went on it became necessary to import firewood by boat from wherever it could be
[376] found, which added greatly to the costs of producing sugar. The steam mill came much later and added further to the problem.

175 At first the owner's house was a veritable fort, surrounded
* 249 by bulwarks and stockades to resist Indian attacks, but by the end of the seventeenth century the need for this precaution had
342 passed away and the plantation houses were assuming noble
361 proportions. Many were imposing two-story buildings built of stone and mortar, the ground level generally being used as a storehouse and the master (senhor de engenho) and his family living on the upper floor. As a rule the Big House of the Recôncavo was situated so that there would be an excellent view from the windows, not only of the mill and slave quarters nearby but of the surrounding countryside. There was no sight so dear to the heart of a plantation master as that of fields of sugar cane, the leaves of many shades of green waving gently in the breeze.

175
* 249 Frequently a chapel was connected with the house or built
361 near it. Not very far away would be the mill, and nearby the
[346]

2: Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1980-1981) 1967 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011



175
249*
These houses (solares, or sobrados) were enormous, constructed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings. Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most of which was imported from Europe. Members of the families frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not unusual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of demonstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

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[342]
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The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except locally, for there was too much distance between him and the new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The abolition of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the plantation master.

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565*
[567]

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It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields, the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increasingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traffic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this

[435]
[464]
[435]

3s Hutchinson E-4,8 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011



*249
[423]
1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá

•[435] Value of the plantation: Cr$1,500,000.00.[3]

*249
422 Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2
1 John Deere plow
1 jeep
2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons
9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)
9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Recôncavo
30 burros for carrying cane
12 saddle horses
35 milk cows and breeding mares
78 cattle for breeding purposes

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[412] The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho the plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.[4] For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile tauá which underlies the shallow layer of massapé, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

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[436] 3. The cruzeiro (Cr$) is the Brazilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately $75,000.00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

Bi Huschinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

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221 kills the new shoots. Toward the end of summer, the pastures or garden plots which are to be made into new plantations (rêgo novo) are prepared, for such work is usually done in accordance with conditions of the land rather than only at the [433] time of planting. New plantings yield an average of thirty to forty tons per acre. Cutting, transporting, burning, and planting are done by the resident workers, while the weeding and general cultivating are carried out by the migrant laborers.

Work in the winter period can usually be handled by the resident workers alone. The planting of cane goes on throughout the year, but the most favorable time is during July and August, when the rains begin to diminish in constancy and the sun shines longer. Cane planted at this time gives the greatest yield. The seed used is the top part of the cane itself, the "eye" which appears just below the leaves. As a rule each plantation furnishes most of its own seed. That for the summer planting comes from the cane which is cut to go to the factory, and that for the winter from small plantings made [654] previously for the purpose. The state government also maintains an agricultural station in the area, from which the planters can get seed. During the winter all repairs are made on houses, fences, and equipment, and of course the necessary drainage ditches must be built or repaired and seasonal cultivation and clearing work must be done.

*249 The usineiros maintain that the agricultural operations pay
•435 more than does the factory. The factory plantations sell their cane at the same price as the private suppliers, a price fixed by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. This price has gradually gone up as have all the factory costs. But the ceiling price of sugar, which is Cr$166,00 a sack, has not increased. In 1951 the cost per sack of sugar at Usina São Pedro was [434] Cr$132,00. Each year the costs rise, creeping nearer and nearer to the selling price. So while the books show that each plantation is making more money for its cane, the factory's books show a slackening of profits. At the moment, most of the factories in the Recôncavo are engaged in refining their processes in order to get a higher percentage of sugar out of [433] each ton of cane. The Usina São Pedro is only able to get an average of eighty kilograms of sugar per ton of cane, while the largest factory gets one hundred kilograms per ton. The factory also loses money because it pays for the cane by the ton of dead weight, and not by the percentage of sucrose the cane contains. As a result the planters are interested in rais-

3: Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

249* 435

ing a heavy cane and increasing their tonnage rather than in raising the quality of the cane. There is a movement under way to change the payment method to payment by percentage of sucrose, but it seems to be gaining little headway.[7]

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The factory of the Usina São Pedro is directed personally by two members of the Conde family, while most other factories have a paid employee, a general manager, who is the industrial counterpart of the general overseer. There are approximately eighty salaried employees in this factory, who are paid by the day and who work all year long. The factory operates from September till February--the harvest season--in two shifts of twelve hours each. During the harvest season over a hundred migrant workers are added to the payroll under the direction of the contractor, and usually work on the endless belt and in the unloading operations.

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The resident factory worker, in addition to receiving a house, also has the right to electric light and to firewood. These workers are trained in the factory, and many of them have been there for a long time. The Usina São Pedro is especially proud of the loyalty of its men, many of whom remained there during the war when they were being enticed away with higher wages by the federal government to build military installations. The Usina São Pedro has experienced no labor difficulties as have some other larger factories, which have had riots and demonstrations caused by labor unions. This is due partly to the small size of the factory, and partly to the continued atmosphere of paternalism, to which many other factories are now making a determined effort to return.

Thus paternalism stands out as one of the major factors in the complicated organizational hierarchy of plantation life. The former master is now simply the patron, but in this role he carries out almost the same functions as did the master in relation to the well-being of his slaves. The patron of today has the same ethical responsibilities toward his workmen as did the former master. In general these responsibilities include care of the workmen beyond the mere payment of a salary, such as care of the sick and the old. Paternalism today is found at its highest degree on the private, family-run plantation and at its lowest degree on the overseer-run, corpora-

7. Jayme V. B. Machado, Industria açucareira na Bahia (Bahia, 1950).

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gasoline cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the fish by the canful at about Cr$25,00 a can, sometimes buying as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm. Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is always a market for the dried product, and this compensates to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for Cr$25,00 to Cr$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima[3] who come to town to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the sertão.

[251]

[443]

Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, although the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between Cr$100,00 and Cr$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the average of Cr$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

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3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

attached to the canoe by a cord called the espia (literally, "it spies"), with which the fisherman can feel when the net has reached the bottom; he can also feel any activity within the net indicating that he has caught something. The net is about 18 feet high, and its round bottom has a circumference of approximately 120 feet. A series of lead weights are sewn into the bottom to carry it downward through the water. The whole net, with its lead, weighs between 5 and 6 kilograms. The sizes of nets vary with their age, for constant repair enlarges them or sometimes makes them smaller. While the man is fishing, the canoe remains drifting, undirected. As the tide begins to run out the fisherman must stop casting his net every so often to paddle the canoe back to the starting point and to keep it from being carried away from the fishing grounds. At other times, if the shrimp appear to be moving away, he picks up his paddle and follows them. The entire operation of casting the net, pulling it in, and emptying it into the bottom of the canoe takes from ten to twenty minutes. If the shrimp are present in great numbers the fisherman speeds up his activities; if not he moves more slowly. C. F. Ott calls the circular casting net "incontestably a Portuguese cultural element."[4]

The period of fishing rarely lasts more than three hours, for by then the tide is moving more strongly and a breeze has arisen. These two factors upset the fishing for they move the canoes away from the fishing grounds. During the month there are approximately fifteen days of fishing with the casting net. If his luck is good a man may catch 20 to 30 kilograms of shrimp a day, and occasionally more; or else he may catch next to nothing. It should be stated that the author never saw a good-sized catch taken with any net, in spite of the great number of times he accompanied the fishermen.

As a rule the fisherman owns his own casting net or borrows one. The canoe is usually rented, and the usual price is two cruzeiros for the morning's fishing. Shrimp bring from Cr$15,00 to Cr$25,00 a kilogram, so this type of fishing is relatively remunerative and involves little expense. A net

4. C. F. Ott, "Os elementos culturais da pescaria baiana," Boletim do Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), No. 4 (October, 1944), p. 31.

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1 226 [435] costs about Cr$240,00 to make and lasts as long as ten years with good care.

227 The drag net, or deep net, as it is sometimes called, is a much larger net used to catch shrimp. It is 360 feet long, 168 feet wide, and has 420 feet of rope on one end and 480 [435] feet on the other. The top is equipped with wooden floats, [422] and the bottom with lead weights. Such a net costs about [441] Cr$4.000,00 and is expensive to keep up, for it is easily torn on submerged objects because of its size and weight. There are only six of them in the town; most of them belong to the merchants, who are the only ones who can afford the upkeep.

226 [461] Fishing with this net is very complicated and requires the services of at least ten men and two canoes, one large and one small. The owner seldom goes fishing. Instead, a master (mestre) is in charge of the operation, and the others in the crew are called "boys" (moços). One of these is the baixador whose work is done standing in the water. His is an unpleasant job, and he runs the constant risk of being bitten by crabs, stung by large jellyfish, and cut by sharp shells on the bottom. The net is used only at the shrimp grounds already described, where the circular casting net is used, in front of the town. This net must also be used when the tide is at a standstill, because the current makes the heavy net unmanageable. The net is carried on the larger canoe which is paddled by six men, while four go in the smaller one. The canoes pause when they arrive at the customary point for launching the net, and almost everyone lights up a cigarette. There is usually some discussion among the fishermen in the various canoes as to who will launch his net first, but as a rule not more than four of the six nets are used on the same day. Since all four must be launched at exactly the same spot, there is an accepted order of first, second, third, and fourth. First yesterday is last today, each moving up one place each day. But if a crew is late in arriving the others will not wait very long, for the time for net work is short. Seldom do the four crews launch their nets more than twice in one morning. The last launching is called the "hard hard" (duradura), indicating the small returns obtained for such hard work. The first net to be launched usually catches the most shrimp.

[435] On a good day it is not unusual for the first crew to take in [465] Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$2.000,00 worth of shrimp, especially if it made two launchings. The method of paying the crew varies, but as a rule the owner takes between 40 and 50 per cent,

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the remainder being divided among the crew, the master and baixador receiving slightly more than the moços. Most fishermen dislike fishing with the drag net for several reasons: although the catch is usually large, it must be divided among many men; there really should be thirteen men to handle the net, which limits the amount each receives, and when only ten participate, the work is much greater for each although the increase in pay is slight; also, the operation is a rather boring process involving long waiting periods. It is becoming more and more difficult to get a crew together.

The resse, used to catch xangó, and the abaladeira, used to catch other small fish such as sardines and tainha, present a different operation. The resse is a net of close weave, 660 feet long and 12 feet wide. Like the deep net, it has wooden floats on the top and lead weights on the bottom. A small canoe (18 to 20 feet) is used, and only two men are necessary. This net can be used with either the incoming or the outgoing tide, and at any place. The fishermen have certain favorite sand and shell banks where they like to fish, east of town. They launch the net when they see the schools of small fish breaking water. The resse is a recent innovation in Vila Recôncavo, where it was first used with great secrecy to prevent knowledge of its weave from falling into the hands of too many people. But now most fishermen in this part of the Bay of All Saints are acquainted with it, and the entire county lists twenty-five resse nets.

A second innovation with this net, and one which applies also to the abaladeira, is the cooperative launching of two nets at once in order to catch more fish. Two canoes participate, each with two men and a net. An exceptional catch for a six-hour period of fishing may run as high as Cr$600,00 and usually averages between Cr$300,00 and Cr$400,00. When two canoes fish together the total catch is divided equally between the two. The resse and abaladeira fishermen estimate that they can earn an average of Cr$15,00 every day of the year. This is considered relatively good, for they do not fish constantly. After a few profitable days they are inclined to give up for a period of time, resting and enjoying themselves.

The calão is another large net requiring at least six men to manipulate it, working from the canoe and from the water as with the deep net. It is used to catch fish of all sizes except the very small xangó and shrimp. The net is 780 feet

226 long and has ropes on each end 420 feet long. This net demands a large canoe. The usual size in use is 30 feet long.

226 427 Few of the fishermen own their own calão--most rent it from a merchant who has one. It is rented by the master on a long-term basis rather than for just one trip. It is said that the master "toma conta da rede," meaning that he not only is fishing with the net, but also repairs it and dyes it when needed. The owner of the net, who usually also owns the canoe and the paddles, receives 20 per cent of the profits of each 226 trip. The remainder is divided among the six men, although the master and baixador each receive one-third more than the [435] other four. Depending on how the fish are running, the calão may catch as much as Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$1.500,00 worth of fish per trip, or as little as Cr$120,00 worth. Two trips a day are made when the fishing is good. There are only eight of these nets in the town, and they are worth about Cr$1.500,00 apiece. The calãozinho is a smaller net of the same type, sometimes called the redinha, or little net. Although its operation is almost the same as that of the larger net, it [178] requires only four men to maneuver it. However, it is becoming [461] less and less popular as the resse increases in popularity.

On land, good care must be taken of the nets. After the 227 fishing, the nets are carried up along the beach to the drying racks, long lines of poles over which the nets are spread. As they dry the master checks them, looking for holes which he immediately sews with a wooden bobbin and cotton thread. [824] The nets are hand-woven of cotton, and dyed in water in which the bark of the red mangue has soaked. This turns the white cotton a dark reddish brown and protects it from the action of the salt water and the sun. A new net must be soaked in this dye every two or three days, and later every eight days.

227 The resse, saladeira, and tarrafa are frequently woven by 286 women, and, unless worked on steadily, these nets may take [462] as long as eight months to make. With steady work a circular [461] casting net can be made in about twelve days. The women are [435] paid Cr$12,00 per box of cotton line which contains twenty-five spools of cotton thread, and it takes five boxes to make an average-size net. The other nets require heavier thread and take much longer to make. The calão and the deep net are made by men, and a year is not considered too long for the [824] manufacture of one. Piassava, a plant fiber which grows in 227 the Recôncavo, is used as line. The fishermen of Vila Recôncavo go to the southwestern part of the bay to purchase it. It

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TABLE 4
TOTAL PROPERTY VALUE

| Urban (Cr$) | Class | Rural (Cr$) |
|---|---|---|
| | A | 5.751.080,00 |
| 36.834,54 | B | 88.652,85 |
| 6.954,75 | C field workers | 1.251,20 |
| | C factory workers | 1.633,00 |
| 3.991,00 | D | |

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Total property value again demonstrates the enormous gap between the rural upper class and the classes below. It also shows the members of rural Class B far ahead of urban class B in possession of property. Most of this property consists of small farms and animals. Urban classes C and D have more property than does rural Class C, principally because the town dwellers own their own houses. In addition to this, members of Class C often own their own means of production, such as canoes and fish nets. Both houses and working equipment are supplied to the rural workers by the land owners.

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TABLE 5
HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES

| Class | | Total expenditure | Expenditure for food |
|---|---|---|---|
| A | | 10.129,50 | 3.327,00 |
| B | rural | 1.955,91 | 1.199,28 |
| | urban | 1.771,40 | 1.342,21 |
| C | field workers | 522,00 | 413,00 |
| | factory workers | 755,54 | 522,00 |
| | urban | 728,00 | 571,00 |
| D | | 440,90 | 434,00 |

Approximately one-third of the total expenditures of Class A are for food, while Class B spends about two-thirds of its

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794 travagant ceremonial of the house. The fulfillment of individ-
435 ual obligations is very expensive, too much so for one person to pay for it himself. The ceremony given at the end of the year in 1950 cost the members of the house almost two thousand cruzeiros in foods, sacrificial animals, candles, kerosene for the lamps, clothing, and ornaments. Individual members spent as much as four hundred cruzeiros on their clothes and beads, in addition to contributing to the common fund, not to mention their labor in cooking and in washing and ironing all the costumes and clothes used during the ceremonies.
[434] Such large sums of money are hard to get, so the number of
[458] ceremonies per year is decreasing. Not only are the salaries
[511] of the people low and inflation high, but more and more things which were not formerly available in the area--such as movies, wrist watches, jewelry other than the beads and bracelets symbolic of the deities, perfume, and lipstick--lay claim on the people's attention and purses.

565 Participation in the cults is generally considered to be an
794 activity of lower-class people, and in Vila Recôncavo only
184 such people are seen dancing and carrying out their other cult obligations. Individuals of other classes, however, do participate either indirectly or secretly. Class A displays a genuine lack of knowledge about the cult activities, in spite of being brought up within sound of the drums and within sight of the outward symbols of the African and Indian deities. These people, although they speak with disdain of cultism and of the paganism involved, have a certain respect for it and usually refrain from interfering with it in any way. They maintain a type of joking relationship in regard to it with the workers who they know participate in it, but seldom if ever attend a ceremony. Ceremonies are infrequently held on family-owned plantations when the owners are present. Most of them take place on plantations run by overseers.

Class B in the town has several members who help support the cult house and indirectly participate in its activities, especially in reference to the Mother of the Waters ritual. Since education, which implies freedom from belief in cultism, is a criterion of class position, members of Class B in public denounce cultism and those who participate in it. But many of them, coming from families which participated in it, retain some belief in the cults and fear them. They do not completely cut themselves off from cultism. They participate in it secretly, sending money to the cult leader and presents to the Moth-

3t Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1963 8011 Bahia Brasilians 8011



The most valuable property of a colonial *engenho*, however, was the slaves. Comparatively few Portuguese came to the Recôncavo, and even those among them who had been labourers in Portugal did not come to Brazil to do manual work. African slaves had already been used on sugar plantations in the Madeira Islands, and a slave system was imported into Brazil along with sugar cane. Although it was expressly prohibited by the Portuguese Government,[4] the early settlers in Bahia enslaved the Indians who did not flee or who were not killed in the early fighting with the colonists. Governor Mem de Sá's Testament lists 95 Indian men slaves, 84 Indian women slaves and only 20 African slaves.[5] From the start, however, Indians were considered inferior to Africans as slaves; they seemed unable to adapt themselves to continuous labour in the fields and mills. Yet in many cases they were kept as fishermen, hunters and boatmen for the *engenho*, being in these activities superior to the newly-arrived Negroes. By 1700, the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the Europeans in the region, and there were but few Indian slaves. Slave was almost synonymous with Negro.

An inventory of an *engenho* of about 650 acres, made in 1866 shortly before the end of slavery, gives a total value of 200 contos[1] for the *engenho*. The land, houses, slaves and livestock were valued at 125 contos; the value of the slaves alone was placed at 65 contos. The inventory divides the slaves into two categories: house slaves *(escravos de casa)* and work slaves *(escravos de lavoura)*. There were 18 house slaves and 103 work slaves. Among the house slaves were 1 barber-tailor-painter, 6 servants, 1 cook, 2 seamstresses and 1 apprentice seamstress, 2 sweet-makers, 2 laundresses, and 3 children without specific 'profession', as their occupation was called. Of the work slaves, 59 were listed as field workers (26 men and 33 women of all ages above the age of 12), 18 as small children, and 26 as specialists—including 4 ox-cart drivers, 5 sailors, 2 ironsmiths, 3 bricklayers, 1 field manager, 1 ship captain, 1 gardener, 1 barrel-maker, 1 specialist in the boiling of sugar, and 1 nurse. The prices of the slaves ran from 'without value' or as low as 20 milreis to as high as 1 conto 400 milreis, depending upon the age, physical condition and degree of skill of the slave.[2] The slaves were always listed in such inventories as foreign- or native-born and generally, if it were known, the place or tribe of origin was given. Many are listed simply as *Africano*. For those born in Brazil, the terms used are *Pardo*, *Cabra* or *Crioulo*; the diminutive form of these terms is used for all

[1] The conto is a unit of Brazilian currency, composed of 1,000 milreis. The milreis, or cruzeiro as it is also called today, is the standard unit of currency. In 1951 the milreis was officially valued at 5.37 cents in U.S. currency, making the conto worth $32.70. However, it must be kept in mind that in 1866 the value of the milreis was considerably higher.

[2] In 1835 this same *engenho* had 60 house slaves and 155 work slaves. The highest valued slave was 900 milreis.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In the sixteenth century a good slave is said to have been valued in Bahia at 40 milreis; in 1692, at 60 milreis; in 1703, at 100 milreis; and in 1800, at 140 milreis.[26] At Pernambuco, early in the nineteenth century, Negroes were valued at 32 pounds sterling; oxen at 31 pounds each, and horses the same; although "by management the two last may be obtained at lower prices," Koster informs us,[27] adding that "plantations of the first class ought to have eighty Negroes at least."

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In addition to Bahia and Recife, there were two other centers of African importation on the coast, at Rio de Janeiro to the south and Maranhão to the north, and one interior region of concentration, the province of Minas Geraes. These five areas received the major portion of all importations and remain today the principal centers of Negro population in Brazil.

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In 1831 a treaty with Great Britain sought to abolish the slave trade. But for a quarter of a century this agreement was so little enforced[28] that an estimated 500,000 additional

[26] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182. A slave worth 100 milreis in 1830 was valued at five times this figure ten years later, and still more as the pressure of the British blockade continued (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 472).

[27] *Op. cit.*, II, 139.

[28] "At one time it appeared impossible to abolish the traffic. . . . . The planters declared that without Africans they would be absolutely unable to plant crops; that free labor was not to be had in sufficient numbers for the necessities of agriculture; that only by force could labor be obtained in this hot country; that the citizen, he who was a free man, possessed as his chief privilege 'não trabalhar' [the right not to labor], or at least to work only enough to enable him to eat and to live as 'Deus dará' [God will provide]; that since the 'gente rude' did not lack shelter, being content to live in palm-leaf huts, it was useless to attempt to obtain profitable labor from free men, who were always lazy and inclined to idleness; that the *fazendeiro* who used free labor was soon reduced to penury by the wages paid out and the poor quality of work so secured" (Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 472-73). On receiving news of the decree of 1831, the Bahian provincial assembly directed a petition to

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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guayan war.[66] The law eventually provided that Negro women, after rearing ten children, should be automatically liberated.[67] In 1871 the so-called "law of Rio Branco" freed offspring of slaves born subsequent to its adoption[68] and set up a fund for the purchase and liberation of Negroes by the government. By 1880 a widespread emancipation movement was under way.[69] Thousands were freed by will, by payments from emancipation funds,[70] or by outright gift.[71] For instance, in 1883, in the towns of Baturite, Aca-

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[66] On March 30, 1867, the monastery of São Bento in Bahia, which had already freed eleven slaves for service in the war with Paraguay, liberated six more Negroes and "presented them to the Governor for the same purpose."

[67] Koster, however, wrote from Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century: "A slave who has brought into the world, and has reared ten children, ought to be free, for so the law ordains. But this regulation is generally evaded" (*op. cit.*, I, 195).

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[68] This law was, however, in some cases ineffective. Sixteen years after its passage the Bahian *Diario Official*, of June 4, 1887, reported the following auction of slave property at the *fazenda Concordia:* "Alberto, 10 years of age, one conto of reis; Vicente, 13 years, one conto of reis; Felix, 14 years, 800 milreis; Flauzinha, 13 years, 600 milreis, Simplicio, 14 years, one conto of reis" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 587 n.)

[69] Among the prominent abolitionists mentioned by Anselmo da Fonseca were: José do Patrocinio, Joaquim Nabuco ("the great and illustrious head of the abolition movement"), Senator Dantas, Ferreira de Menezes, Andre Rebouças, Quintino Bocayuva, Joaquim Serra, Ennes de Souza, Getulio das Neves, Nicolau Moreira, José Mariano, Celso Junior, Senator Jaguaripe, Luiz de Andrade, João Clapp, Beaurepaire Rohan, Aristides Spinola, Ruy Barbosa, Escragnole Taunay, Franco de Sá, Antonio Pinto, Leopoldo Bulhões, and "a writer using the pseudonym of Clarkson" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

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[70] These funds were sponsored by emancipation societies, private individuals, and municipal, state, and national treasuries.

[71] The *Provinciano*, a newspaper of Parahyba do Sul, listed in 1884, among others, the following emancipations: "Dona Anna S. José, 16 slaves liberated and a farm given them for their use; Condessa do Rio Novo, 200 slaves

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[58]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[59] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[60] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[61] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[62] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[63] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 30 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this .... act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195-96).

[60] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[61] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [62] *Ibid.* [63] *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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My *pae de santo* made an *ebó* for me last week. It is a *limpeza do corpo* ["cleansing of the body"]. I had an unclean body and dragged myself around, listless. I went to the "master" of the *candomblé* and he "opened the table" and looked to see if my body was unclean. He then asked me to bring toasted maize, a black cloth, popcorn, honey, and a candle. He passed them all over me,[58] and when he had finished, he took them and left them in a crossroads. Friday is the day for this.

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Now if a person puts a *bruxaria*[59] in your doorway, with a doll stuck through with pins, that is of the *feiticeiro* and it is different from a "cleansing of the body." My *pae de santo* does not make *feitiço*. He says that he does not care to do harm to people, because he has a soul for which he is responsible to God. But any *pae de santo* who wishes to bring harm upon someone can do so. For example, if I arrive in his *casa* and say that I want to do something to someone he asks me: "What do you want to do to her?" I say that when she comes to my door I want her to go blind. He will "make a business" and the next day she will come to my door and go blind. Or else I say that I want her to be wounded by a knife. He arranges it so that this happens.[60]

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"Opening the table" is a thing done with *buzios*. The *pae de santo* puts an *orixá* on top of the table, together with his little towel.[61] He takes up the *buzios* and sees if "the way is open." My *pae de santo* "opens the table" with beads.[62] He takes the beads and puts them alongside *palha* from the *pindoba*.[63] These beads come from the Coast.[64] His set cost 1:000$000.[65]

[58] That is, in front, to side, behind, above the head, etc.

[59] Any instrument of black magic.

[60] That is, she will be attacked in a lonely place by robbers, or accidentally stabbed. The action is always mediate.

[61] The table-covering which is placed over the *orixá* in the *pegi*, or sanctuary.

[62] Other means employed: a glass of water, a set of playing cards.

[63] Fronds from a variety of the coconut palm.

[64] That is, from the West Coast of Africa.

[65] One thousand milreis, or one conto, equivalent at that time to approximately $60.

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office of priest) to him. He is dedicated to the same *orixá*, Ogun, as was she, and speaks, he claims, "a little of six different African languages: Nagô, Gêge, Ige-chá, Queito, Egba, and Musurumi." He owns "a roomful" of ceremonial costumes, one of which is said to have cost six contos (approximately $360). He considers his task to be that of "doing good" and refuses to deal in black magic, an attitude which has cost him, it is said, "much money."[13] He is godfather to approximately a hundred and fifteen children and is soon to be godfather to nine others who are on the point of receiving the baptismal ceremony. He visits about the Reconcavo, particularly in Cachoeira, exercising his office of *pae de santo*, and is said to have paid similar visits to Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará, in each of which he has "made" several *filhas* and "confirmed" *ogans*.

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The *achôgun*, or sacrificer, is an elderly black with a kindly face and snow-white hair. The leader of the drummers, or the *alabê*, a jolly black whose mother (now deceased) was a *mãe de santo* in Cidade de Palha, is very expert with the drums, speaks Nagô, and sings in a high-pitched but rather pleasant voice the African *cantigas*, or ritualistic songs. An *ogan* says of him, proudly, "He knows almost as much about African things as a *pae de santo*."

An elderly Negro woman, who walks haltingly with a cane, attends every ceremony. Younger friends carefully help her to a seat where she can see everything that goes on. Leaning forward on her cane, her intelligent eyes wide open, her face continually breaking into beaming smiles, she joins

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[13] An *ogan* of this *seita* says that a *pae de santo* in Itapoan named Gregorio (now deceased) once declined twelve contos (approximately $720) "to make a man mad." This *ogan* knows, however, a *mãe de santo* who, as he says, became angered at the remarks of a young skeptic and "made a *negocio*" (literally a "business"; i.e., black magic) which "drove him mad in two days."